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# AMERICAN SOCIALIST

OUR TICKET THIS YEAR

For President  
ALLAN L. BENSON  
For Vice-President  
GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

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## LABOR'S OPPORTUNITY HERE! MAKE THE MOST OF IT!

### Unite! Today! Force Higher Price of Blood And Sweat of Toilers

By J. L. ENGDAHL.

LABOR'S biggest opportunity is here! Let labor unite and make the most of this grand opportunity!

There were never so many workers in the land demanding more bread for their families, more hours of leisure, better conditions under which to labor.

There was never such a demand for organization on the part of the men, women and children who toil, as now.

The desire to struggle for something better is in the heart of labor, TODAY! It is a struggle full of life and hope.

THIS struggle must be crowned with success. It can be crowned with success because: Never before has the army of the unemployed been thinned to its present proportions; its ranks so depleted. Never before have the masters of industry been bidding for the brain and brawn of labor as they are doing now. Never before has the voice of labor been as commanding as now; sounded so threatening to the ears of the master class.

LABOR must make a big step in advance now because: When the war is over, as it soon must be, the hordes of the hopeless will leave the shores of Europe and come to the United States looking for jobs, to compete in the labor market.

When the war is over the munitions industry will collapse, hundreds of thousands of workers will be thrown out of employment, the unemployed army will be recruited again to its full strength; the workers will be bidding against each other for the jobs.

When the war is over the millions of soldiers in Europe will return to their jobs across the sea, and there will be no call for the products of American labor.

THE LABOR situation in this country today is the product of 21 months of bloody slaughter in Europe. In the early months of the war, the skilled labor needed in the munitions plants demanded and received increased wages. The eight hour day was won almost over night, especially by the machinists, where previous years of unremitting struggle had not brought it about.

WORKERS were drawn to the war industry from other industries. The opportunity to fight and win grew and grew. Note the rebellion of labor in the Pittsburgh district. See the thousands leaving the gates of the International Harvester Co. and other huge corporations in Chicago and Milwaukee.

These docile battalions of labor had often been condemned and reviled for their servility to their masters. Now they are in revolt.

There were no unemployed to take their places, no freshly arrived hordes of immigrants from Europe hungry for jobs. Labor went on strike and factories and mills closed. The solidarity of labor was irresistible.

LABOR is losing its fears and forebodings. It is willing to fight. Winter is gone. Spring is urging the mass of toil to take up the battle for its rights.

When the Milwaukee munitions manufacturer warned labor to stick to its sausages, sauerkraut and black bread, for the present prosperity would soon be a thing of the past, he was merely voicing his own fear. Labor intends to have something better.

When the Chicago money monarch, from the bottom of his granite heart, advised the workers to "Cut out the nickel shows and SAVE!" his advice fell on deaf ears.

TAKE A look at the picture, "THE STRIKE! THE PARADE!" on this page. This is not an artist's dream. This picture was snatched from life by the film in a camera, the camera perched on top of a railroad viaduct as 10,000 striking, cheering men and women marched beneath it.

This revolt is a reality. It was such a reality that the big magnates of the harvester trust offered the strikers the nine hour day with 10 hours' wages the moment the strike began.

I walked with this parade for hours thru that section of Chicago where the sweat and blood of labor has been a cheap commodity upon the market.

Every city has its similar industrial hell—where the myriads of homes crouch in the shadow of towering mills, or feel the heat of blazing furnaces close by.

But the price of the sweat and blood of labor is going up. Let it mount higher and higher. Let it rise until it has absorbed all the profits of capital.

Labor's biggest opportunity is here. Let labor everywhere unite and make the most of this grand opportunity.

### Coal Miners Win As Railroad War Looms Bigger Than Ever

While the coal miners have forced the mine owners to grant concessions in the signing up of new wage scales, the great struggle on the railroads, "Eight hours work, eight hours sleep, eight hours relaxation," is nature's law, looms bigger than ever.

The United Mine Workers has just obtained concessions for the 176,000 anthracite mine workers. The hours are reduced from nine to eight and an increase in pay is granted. Even more important in its final effect is the recognition accorded for the first time to the United Mine Workers of America. That agreement is signed in the name of that organization, where in previous years the mine barons refused to admit that it had any existence.

Continued Growth Seen. Agreements are being reached with the soft coal mine owners that insure better working conditions and increased wages. These victories won by this great organization insure its

continued growth, leaves the way open for the organization of non-union fields and permits it to lend its aid to other workers to build up their unions.

Another chapter in labor's history is being written in blood in the Pittsburgh district where two workers have already been martyred in the struggle at the Westinghouse and other plants. Labor in the Pittsburgh district strikes and strikes again without making any seeming progress. Let us hope that the present struggle will show a big advancement of the cause of the working class in this section of the country.

Chicago faced its nineteenth strike called in the last few weeks when hundreds of men walked out in various departments at Armour's in the stock yards district. It is believed that this strike, like that at the International Harvester Co. and other big corporations will gradually grow un-

#### HIT CENSORING OF DEBS.

The San Diego, Cal., branch of the Socialist party, thru a committee composed of J. R. Cochran, Marcus W. Robbins, and N. L. Griest, has issued a statement bitterly arraignment the treatment given Eugene V. Debs upon his recent visit to the city by the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Panama-California exposition.

In spite of the fact that Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan made speeches on behalf of their particular propaganda, the committee in charge of the Debs meeting was refused permission for him to address an audience at the exposition on the ground that he was voicing a special propaganda.

"It is said," adds the committee, "that the members of the committee who blocked Debs' speech were either members of or in complete sympathy with the vigilantes whose brutal treatment of labor here a few years ago disgraced San Diego in the eyes of the thinking world."

The eyes of millions of wage-slaves await to be opened. Don't waste time splitting hairs, but make every bit of your time and every atom of your energy count in awakening the slumberers and arousing them to action.



Here is a view of a section of the parade of 10,000 striking men and women at the huge plant of the International Harvester Co., the Harvester Trust, in Chicago. These men and women were unorganized. They walked out in an effort to secure increased wages and better working conditions from this ruthless aggregation of wealth. It is the International Har-

vester Co. that is held responsible for part of the trouble in Mexico. Its part in the expropriation of the "Slaves of Yucatan", Mexico, has already been written. This huge trust has been investigated and busted on numerous occasions. Still it is bigger, stronger and more rapacious than ever. One of its chief officials is George W. Perkins, one of the big men in the steel trust and chief backer of Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party.

The first money raised during

the strike was a ten cent assessment to pay for the service of the band leading the parade.

When the strikers paid this assessment, an indelible stamp was put in the palm of his hand, and he immediately became a member of the union.

In spite of page ads placed in all the capitalist foreign language papers, in an effort to lure the men back to work, the strikers are standing solid for victory. These misleading advertisements were also presented to the three

foreign language Socialist dailies in Chicago, but they refused to publish them, or to accept the blood money that was offered. There are three foreign language dailies in Chicago, Polish, Bohemian and German. The editors of these publications, with the officials of the foreign language federations of the Socialist Party, have been active in the work of organizing the strikers in this strike, as well as in a number of other struggles now being waged in Chicago.

Three bills providing for fire and safety provisions in factories were killed in committee. These bills were prepared with the assistance of Dr. George M. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the cloakmaking and waistmaking industries of New York City; George Hall, secretary of the American Association of Labor Legislation, and other famous experts. The Committee on Labor and Industries, of which Shiplacoff was a member, was packed with manufacturers and others hostile to labor, so the bills were reported unfavorably.

Four or five bills providing just the opposite conditions demanded by Shiplacoff were slipped into the Assembly without going to committee. On the floor of the Assembly Shiplacoff denounced this trick. He made it so hot for the politicians who engineered this trick that the bills were killed.

He Fights Mackey Bill. One of the most important fights Shiplacoff waged was against the Mackey Bill, which repealed the one-day-rest-in-seven statute in the case of dairy and creamery employees. When the bill came up in Shiplacoff's committee he put up such a hot fight that the others held a conference and the bill disappeared. It bobbed up later in the Senate, where it was passed by unanimous vote. Then the bill came to the Assembly. Shiplacoff fought against it and was on the watch so closely that it was laid over for action twelve times because the politicians feared a record vote.

On the last time it appeared with an amendment which provided that only those who worked 54 hours or less a week should work seven days a week. Then the bill passed with just enough votes. Shiplacoff charges there was crooked work on the vote tally, but

was against a hopeless proposition to prove his case. Shiplacoff's bill to open courts for naturalization purposes at night was killed in committee. His bill providing for the punishment of employers who did not stipulate in newspaper advertisements that "strikebreakers were sought was killed in committee. There were three hearings on this bill, and organized labor of the State backed it solidly. Shiplacoff amended the bill to meet all objections and showed the committee members that the law exists in nine States, in some more stringent than the one he prepared. Yet the committee killed it.

Cossack Bill Beaten. The vicious Cossack bill, which would have established a State constabulary to break strikes, was defeated by a narrow margin largely thru Shiplacoff's persistent agitation against it. Backing him were all the labor organizations of the State. He warned the lawmakers that the Cossacks were sought by the capitalist interests to crush the workers who tried to rebel against intolerable conditions. The vote came at the end of the session of the Legislature. The Democrats, with the few independents won to his cause, made sufficient votes to beat the bill.

"My term in the Legislature has been an invaluable experience," said Shiplacoff. "I now know better than ever what the working class must contend with. There must be a working class majority in the Legislature or there will always be class legislation against the workers. The average legislator does not consider the merits of a bill. He votes for or against it on the basis of a big bribe, or a promise that in return the others will vote for his bills. It's a case of 'You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.'"

"There are three kinds of men in the Assembly. There are the stuffed dummies. As I told an audience in a New York Assembly district, when I was Assemblyman probably does not beat his wife or get drunk and sleep in the gutter, but they might as well have stuffed a coat and a pair of pants and sent the dummy to Albany and saved the restaurant bill. He is no good. He does not even know enough to vote and follows the majority leader like a sheep.

"Then there are the vicious fellows, the representatives of the big capitalist interests of the State. There is one man who needs only a monocle to complete the picture of a fifth avenue swell. He came to me one day and said, with his Dunderberg affectation: 'Don't you know you introduce class legislation?' I replied: 'Your bills are for the associations of manufacturers.'

They Are "Nice Fellows." "The majority of the Assemblymen are nice fellows, well meaning chaps, but unable to think for themselves. They vote the way the majority leader tells them to vote and never worry what it is all about. We were friendly always and often the Tammany men would come to me when I was tallying their votes on bills and ask, 'Have you got me down straight, Ship?'

"They have a beautiful library in connection with the Legislature, but so far as I have been able to find out I was the only one who took advantage of it.

"The legislators do as little work as they can. On Monday night there is a quorum. On Tuesday there are fewer. On Wednesday there usually was a quorum, and then the rush for home began. On Thursday there never was a quorum. On Friday the chaplain prayed to vacant seats. Even in the last weeks, when the delinquents were threatened with arrest, they hurried for home when the middle of the week approached."

WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE. Plans are now being made for the calling of an international Socialist peace conference to be held at The Hague, June 26. The conference will not be a general conference, as indicated in recent cable dispatches, as only representatives of neutral countries will attend.

Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the American Socialist Party, has announced that he may not be able to make the trip, owing to his work in the strike of garment workers in New York City. The Socialist Party national executive committee is choosing an alternative in case Hillquit is not able to attend.

Three prominent Swedish Socialist editors, Hoeglund, Ojelson, and Fiedon, have been sentenced respectively to three years, 18 months and one year's imprisonment, according to dispatches from Copenhagen. The charge was that they had advised soldiers to strike if Sweden became involved in the war.

Drastic resolutions against war and condemning the military defense of neutrality were adopted by a conference of young Socialists held recently at Stockholm, Sweden. The conference recommended mass action, culminating in a mass rally not offset by jingo agitation and plans. Should a mass strike be insufficient, more energetic measures are recommended in support of the slogan with which the resolution concludes: "Peace at any price."

The conference asked the party executive to call extraordinary conventions and to organize steps against a war. It was following this meeting that the Stockholm authorities initiated a prosecution against the three comrades who have now been sent to prison.

### THE STRIKE! THE PARADE!



Here is a view of a section of the parade of 10,000 striking men and women at the huge plant of the International Harvester Co., the Harvester Trust, in Chicago. These men and women were unorganized. They walked out in an effort to secure increased wages and better working conditions from this ruthless aggregation of wealth. It is the International Har-

#### THE TRANSITION

By JOHN M. WORK.

EVERY now and then we read an article in a Socialist publication which implies that the transition from capitalism to socialism must necessarily be accompanied by a terrific war.

Of course no one can predict the exact accompaniments of the transition.

But, those who are so sure that it will be accompanied by a terrible war have failed to take into consideration one of the most powerful factors.

They look at the situation from the present day point of view. In other words, they size up the probabilities from the standpoint of those who are in a minority and who are therefore accustomed to being confronted by enemies emboldened by their superior numbers.

They forget that by the time when we succeed in carrying a general election, public opinion will be decidedly on our side.

AT THAT time, the giant force of numbers will be with us. Not only will public opinion be decidedly on our side, but, by virtue of the momentum of the idea, it will speedily become overwhelmingly so.

For the capitalists to face a hostile and well organized public, will be a very different matter from the present situation wherein they are made confident and lion-hearted by the consciousness of having the majority on their side.

Is it not probable that, under the averted circumstances, the capitalists will lose their courage and sue for peace, glad to save what little they can out of the wreck of their fortunes?

There is food for thought. It seems to me that this point of view makes the prospect of a peaceful transition sufficiently probable so that we are justified in holding it out as the natural and probable method.

BY PEACEFUL, I do not necessarily mean a serene Sunday calm. At the present time we have constant strikes and constant friction—the class struggle going on all the time, with frequent bloodshed. Yet, this is called peace, as distinguished from war. It does not seem probable that the transition need be accompanied by any more bloodshed than we in this country have now.

If we inculcate in the minds of new recruits the idea that the transition is to be peaceful, it will be far more likely to really be so.

KARL LIEBKNECHT IN PRISON? Nothing definite has been heard concerning the fate of Karl Liebknecht since he was arrested by the German police while addressing a May Day demonstration. It is declared that a resolution has been introduced in the Reichstag demanding his release, which would indicate that he has been thrown into prison.

If he now languishes in prison, Liebknecht takes the place of Rosa Luxemburg, lately released after serving a prison term for her part in the great struggle against German militarism.

It is declared that May Day in Germany was marked by food and peace demonstrations in all parts of the empire. The real extent of these demonstrations, however, is very indefinite.

TEACHERS AGAIN VICTORIOUS. Another victory has been won by the Chicago school teachers. The appellate court has upheld the teachers' injunction against the school board preventing it from breaking up the teachers' union affiliated with the Chicago, the Illinois and the American Federations of Labor. The big business members of the school board, of course, are planning to fight the case to a higher court. But the teachers feel their fight has been won. It is this fight that has brought about the organization of the school teachers in a large number of other cities.

HELP HOAN WAKE UP THE DUBBS! Have you taken advantage of the great subscription offer that appeared in our Henry Dubb Edition last week; a copy of that great book by Daniel W. Hoan, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, FREE with a six month's subscription at 25 cents.

This book, "REGULATION—A FRAUD AND A FAILURE," tells you how Comrade Hoan fought the big public utility corporations of Milwaukee during the six years he was Milwaukee's Socialist city attorney. This book is an exposure of the idea, that government can regulate big business. It is the book you have been looking for to wake up the Henry Dubbs for the fall elections. Send your orders to The American Socialist, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Arthur E. Reimer, Boston, Mass., has been nominated for president by the Socialist Labor Party, with Caleb Harrison, of Chicago, for vice president.



# While Strikes Rage, Rep. London Battles For Labor In Congress

By LUCIEN SAINT.

WASHINGTON.—Strongly pleading in the House of Representatives for a national system of social insurance, Socialist Congressman Meyer London characterized human society as "a mere aggregation of bipeds, each seeking to devour the other." "The workers," said London, "should not be asked to assume all the risks, all the hazards of modern industry, with its accidents, occupational diseases, life-sapping intensity, with its sudden rushes and its long slacks, with its constant fears and anxieties. And in the end the worker will pay for it all."

"I know," he continued, "that the struggle for bread will continue to be bitter, and that the emancipation of the masses can become a reality only with the abolition of the competitive system of society in which the propertyless are at the mercy of the class which controls the land and the means of production."

## ARGUES FOR COMMISSION.

London argued for his commission to investigate social insurance and formulate plans for the organization of a thoroughgoing nation-wide system. "We have learned," he said, "that society owes an obligation to compensate the worker against loss due to industrial accident. We are slowly coming to understand that occupational disease must be brought within the purview of compensation laws. Health insurance, which forms such a prolific source of profit to insurance companies and of waste to the insured should be organized on a national scale, and as a national function."

"There is no reason why profit should be made out of misfortune. The poorest strata of society now pay to the various industrial insurance funds \$1 in order to get back 40 cents. Insurance against loss by unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age must be undertaken by society and not left to private corporations."

Rep. London's speech in full was as follows:

## LONDON'S SPEECH IN FULL.

MR. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, on the 19th day of February of this year I introduced a resolution in which I asked for the appointment of a commission to prepare and recommend a plan for the establishment of a national insurance fund and for the mitigation of the evil of unemployment.

We had a most interesting hearing on the resolution before the Committee on Labor of the House. Men of all political faiths appeared in support of the resolution and urged the need of a comprehensive study of the subject.

Up to 1912 there was only one political party which grasped the importance of dealing with the problem of unemployment, with health insurance, and old age pensions from a national standpoint and as national

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SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1916.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here is all the week's news worth while boiled down for workers so busy fighting for presidential nomination, that they do not have time to read the daily capitalist papers.

FRIDAY, APRIL 28.

British battleship *Russell* sunk by mine in Mediterranean; Turks annihilate four British cavalry squadrons in the east of Suez Canal; fighting on French front confined to snail and artillery combats, there being little in infantry action.

Uprising in Dublin, Ireland, continues with fighting in streets where rebels, from trenches and barricades, are firing on soldiers.

President Wilson's speech before the Illinois Bar Association.

SATURDAY, APRIL 29.

Ten thousand British at Kut-el-Amara, Mesopotamia, surrender to Turks; move made by Gen. Townshend to prevent his troops being cut off from the rear.

"President of Irish republic" surrenders and commander, said to be James Connolly, will known Sinn Féin leader, will withdraw from Dublin being crushed.

President Wilson, continuing his campaign for presidential nomination, demands universal military service in speech before Illinois Bar Association.

SUNDAY, APRIL 30.

Main body of Sinn Féin rebels in Ireland surrenders to British.

Secret diplomatic exchanges between United States and Germany indicate Kaiser has no desire to break relations with this country.

President Wilson suffers overwhelming defeat when house of representatives, by vote of 213 to 165, declares against withdrawal from Philippine Islands within specified time.

Germany is confident break with U. S. will be avoided and friendly settlement of submarine issue reached.

Europe's purchases of war materials in United States total \$240,000,000 at end of first 20 months of war.

TUESDAY, MAY 2.

British claim revolt in Ireland at an end, but martial law will be maintained; bill for immediate conscription to be introduced in British house of commons.

French take first line trenches of Germans at Dead Man's Hill and southeast of Port Duhamont.

New South Wales minister resigns owing to unwillingness of members to put into effect abolition of upper house as demanded by Labor Party.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3.

United States troops sent into Mexico for month or two and then will be withdrawn; hunt of Villa by Americans to cease at once, army being withdrawn north and concentrated at Colonia Dublan.

Negotiations practically concluded for purchase of West Indies by United States for \$5,000,000.

Germany completes draft of reply to American note; answer defining exact position of Berlin on submarine warfare to be sent immediately.

THURSDAY, MAY 4.

J. M. Sullivan of New York, former American minister to Dominican Republic, arrested in Dublin for complicity in Irish revolt.

Congress voted it would cost \$800,000,000 to make United States second rate naval power.

Reports from Germany indicate Kaiser's reply to Pres. Wilson's note on submarine warfare may mean path to peace; noted many considerable concessions.

Four more Irish rebels executed and 15 given prison terms; Dublin under martial law.

conservation measures. In 1912, Mr. Roosevelt, in his anxiety to smash the old Republican Party, which in his opinion had survived its usefulness, gathered together planks for a platform which should bring to his support all the discontented. He consulted a number of men who had made a study of social problems, among them a well-known Socialist, for planks dealing with the social problem, among these planks we find some dealing with the problem of social insurance.

## PHRASES NEW TO AMERICA.

THE PHRASES "social legislation," "social conscience," "social insurance," are rather new to America. There is no country in the world in which the spirit of individualism is as strong as in the United States. Individualism is the narrow application of the doctrine of self-help.

"Help yourself, and never mind at whose expense," is the slogan of this philosophy.

This kind of individualism assumes that every man can improve his conditions and take care of himself and his family and can rise out of poverty and destitution by personal effort. Any effort on the part of the individual to invoke the aid of the community, and particularly of the law, is condemned as repugnant to the American idea.

Before our very eyes men have risen from poverty to opulence, from positions of insignificance to positions of prominence. We have financiers who started at shipping clerks. We have lawyers, judges, statesmen, who started as office boys. And with these men as a practical example of what America and Americans can do, social legislation, social insurance, social problems, are to many utterly unintelligible expressions.

The Republic had its birth in a rebellion against an oppressive Government. Jefferson's theory that that government is best which governs least expresses perhaps better than all the books on liberty the theory of American individualism. When this doctrine was proclaimed there were some men in America who were richer than others, but there were no extremely rich nor extremely poor. At least, everyone had a chance. The resources of the country were untouched. There were new lands to be occupied; opportunities were unlimited; a strong and energetic man was bound to succeed. It was a fair contest and a fair race, in which the man with ability survived.

## CONDITIONS CHANGE.

NO ONE will seriously argue that we have the same state of affairs today. Some industries have reached a stage of monopoly. No matter how able, how energetic, how self-reliant the individual may be, he can no longer hope to succeed in the race against a powerful aggregation of capital. He is no longer competing with an individual who is a little richer than he is. He is called upon to compete with an aggregation of power in the form of organized capital, a tremendous, overwhelming force beyond the power of any individual to successfully contend with, and surely beyond the power of the individual to overcome.

The doctrine of self-help must be replaced in the light of this new phenomenon. Instead of the good sound philosophy which spurred on every man to exert himself to the utmost for himself and his family, so that he might some day, thru thrift and intelligence, reach a state of independence and be his own boss, there has come another kind of self-help.

Many an able man finds that he can help himself only by placing himself in the service of organized capital. It has come to be the highest ambition, and this ambition is being fostered, to become a corporation manager, the editor of a paper backed by a powerful corporation, a corporation lawyer—in short, some kind of a corporation tool. And there is growing up a peculiarly servile and contemptible type of man, and the most contemptible of them all is perhaps the corporation lawyer.

Who is the great lawyer nowadays? Is it the man who has contributed a new thought to jurisprudence or a higher ethical conception? Is it the man who has thru the channels of legal activity enlarged the liberties of the people? No. Our great lawyers are the men who have received big fees in the service of organized capital. They are the men who guide the destinies of corporations and promote

their interests as against the interests of the people.

Mr. McCracken, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. London. Yes.

Mr. McCracken. Would the gentleman apply that to Mr. Brandeis?

Mr. London. Yes.

## LAWYER OF THE FUTURE.

MR. LONDON. Mr. Brandeis is one of the few lawyers who have tried to make the profession of the law nobler. He has applied his talent to the application of a law regulating the hours of labor for women. He has tried to bring the spirit of life into the dead letter of the law. He has broken away from the old traditions of the corporation lawyer and has acted as the lawyer of the people, as the enforcer of the future.

Mr. Huddleston. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. London. I will.

Mr. Huddleston. Is not that fact the reason why Mr. Brandeis is being opposed for confirmation?

Mr. London. That is the principal reason; not his own merits.

Brandeis should be confirmed because of those who oppose him. (Applause.) When Taft and Choate and Root oppose a man, be sure that man represents a noble idea and noble principles. (Applause.)

Modern industry is organized on such a gigantic scale that in most industries the individual capitalist must combine his capital with that of others in order to make his capital effective. It has become more and more difficult to fight singlehanded the battle of life.

While capitalist and capitalist are forced to join in corporations, worker and worker are irresistibly driven to join in unions, farmer and farmer in to granges, and the most intelligent elements of all classes into the Socialist Party.

It is this new kind of self-help which seeks to accomplish the salvation of the great masses thru cooperation on the economic and on the political field that is forcing to the front the new notions translatable into the phrases "social legislation," "social conscience," "social insurance."

## SOCIAL INSURANCE PROGRAM.

I INTEND to present to you a program of social insurance, a new part of the constructive program of the Socialist movement. Broadly speaking, the subject of social insurance can be subdivided into the following branches:

1. Unemployment insurance.
2. Sickness and disability insurance, which takes in sickness, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases.
3. Invalidity and old-age insurance.
4. Provision for widows and orphans.

The ultimate analysis social insurance carries with it obligatory insurance against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, old age, and death.

Social insurance had its origin in Germany in the eighties. The Socialist movement had not yet gained a foothold there, but there was to engulf both the capitalist class and the Monarchy. Prior to that the Iron Chancellor had hoped to crush the rising movement of the Social Democracy by repressive measures. Socialist publications were suspended; their organizers were arrested; the Social Democrat was declared an outlaw. These repressive measures failed.

A new policy was then adopted by the Iron Chancellor and the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government undertook to win away the masses from the Social Democracy by a series of national measures calculated to mitigate the evil conditions in industry. A comprehensive program insuring the worker against old age, sickness, invalidity, and accident, which continuously held out the promise of more thorough improvements, was offered to the workers.

The Imperial Government has again failed to check the growth of the Social Democracy, which has become the largest party in the German industry. Many, but it has contributed to the development of the most efficient, most intelligent, and most healthy working class of modern days. The German Imperial Government has been spurred on by the Social Democracy. Now the whole world talks of German efficiency.

## UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

LET US take up first the subject of unemployment insurance. It has long been contended by the Socialists that our present method of production and distribution involves the presence of a large army of unemployed. I would as soon contend that if industry is to be maintained on a competitive basis, that there must be competition between worker and worker for a job.

In order that employer and employee may compete there must be able to compete at the expense of the wage worker, because after all the principal cost of production is the wage paid to the worker. Competition between employer and employer involves competition between man and man for a job, and the constant presence of a number of men who are out of employment, of the jobless man seeking to replace the man who has a job.

The Commission on Industrial Relations estimates that the industrial worker loses on the average one-fifth of his time because of unemployment. The commission proves that "even in normal times the number of unemployed is appallingly great."

It appears that from 7 to 15 per cent of all the members of unions are unemployed at some time during the year. We are all familiar with unemployment during periods of depression and during the acute stages of depressions known as crises. We all know that a crisis means unemployment.

Thus from the somewhat uncertain figures as they are presented by the

census of 1900, the number of unemployed in that year reached the startling figure of nearly six millions and a half. Statistics of unemployment were gathered in 1910, but they probably are so staggering that they were never tabulated, and they have never been made public.

We have just emerged from a crisis during which there were almost as many unemployed as employed men. And the worse about it is that crises are from here to there occurring—we have had them almost every 10 years. Because the evil of unemployment assumes a threatening character during each crisis, it does not mean that we are free from unemployment in normal times.

It will be readily conceded that every change or threatened change of the tariff disturbs industry and throws men out of work. It is a matter of history that protectionist industries, whenever a downward revision of the tariff was threatened or effected, have held out before the workers the prospect of shutting up the plants.

## PRESIDENT'S WARNING IN VAIN.

WE ALL remember the solemn warning issued by the President, that all who would attempt to coerce their fellow citizens by shutting up the factories in resisting a downward revision of the tariff "would hang as high as Haman." The protectionist did not threaten, he only prophesied, but prophesied calamity with such insistence and with such emphasis that it fell like a bomb upon the heads of Haman, but a large Democratic majority in Congress was reduced almost to zero.

The man working in a protected industry, with nothing to fall back upon when separated from his job, is not at all in a better chance; and when he hears the political orator proclaim that a reduction of the tariff would be followed by joblessness, he is in nine cases out of ten likely to vote back into power the protectionist interests. If the worker and something to fall back upon he could not be so easy to intimidate him.

Our age has been characterized by the constant introduction of new machines and new appliances, of new methods of division of labor, of heretofore unknown systems of efficiency. Every new machine, every new invention, every method that simplifies work or increases the productivity of man inures to the ultimate benefit of mankind, it has the immediate effect of causing a constant shifting of labor, of separating men from their jobs.

Ultimately a blessing, the introduction of a new machine or a new device is an immediate curse to the worker who loses his job. The object of introducing a new machine is to increase production and to economize on labor. The introduction of a machine in a particular industry will result in a demand for the article commensurate with the increased productivity, there will be idle men pounding the sidewalks.

The full extent to which the productivity of man is increased by the introduction of machinery can hardly be appreciated. I shall cite just a few instances. Thus, while it took 222 hours to turn out 10 pairs of men's fine-grade shoes by hand, it takes just 29 hours to turn them out by machine. The making of a watch movement, which requires 155 hours by hand, takes only 5 hours by machine. One dozen corsets, 210 hours by hand, 18 hours by machine. Newspapers, printing and folding 36,000 pages, 216 hours by hand, 1 hour by machine. Loading 100 tons of ore on cars, 100 hours by hand, 1 hour by machine.

## GETS POOR CONSOLATION.

IT IS a poor consolation to the breadwinner of the family ousted from his job to be told that in the long run mankind will benefit by the new machine.

In some industries unemployment is more constant than employment. This is particularly true of seasonal trades and of those trades that serve the whims and caprices of fashion. In the building trades, in the clothing industry, in the amusements industry, in the lumber camps and sawmills, the busy season is quickly replaced by the slack. Only a small proportion of employees have work thru the year in these industries. The resulting rivalry for a chance to be employed has a depressing effect upon the general level of wages.

It seems as if some industries could not exist at all under present conditions, so miserable are the wages therein and so short is the duration of employment, unless there were a large army of casual workers ready to take any and every job.

There has been an average of 15,000 bankruptcies every year, and every bankruptcy means a tragedy in the home of the employee.

The creation of a new market, the disappearance of the demand for an article by the substitution of another in its stead, the springing up of a new industry, the decay of an old one—all of these things have the effect of shifting the workers from their jobs.

Unemployment, then, is not an accident, nor a rare thing, nor an occasional thing, but an incident of industry. It is sure to be predicted, so that as seasonal industries are concerned, it is sure to come with the application of every invention. It is sure to follow a change of the tariff. We are dealing with the effects of commerce, every depression, every crisis, every change brings in its wake unemployment.

## BRASS BANDS AND CLUBS.

AND VERY often, while tens of thousands of men walk the streets of our large cities in search of work, you will hear the farmer imploring the city laborer to come and help him out in gathering the harvest.

Mr. Buchanan of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. London. Yes.

Mr. Buchanan of Illinois. Is it not a fact that in many instances the amount of money that the laborer re-

ceives while employed in the harvest field is taken up in the charges of transportation to and from the place of work?

Mr. London. Undoubtedly. The farmer will pay the city laborer \$3 a day while he works, but after the rush is over the city laborer must fall back upon his own resources—which are nil—and finding himself without means of transportation, he only helps to glut the labor market. As everybody has recently expressed it, the city laborer is invited to the farm with a brass band, and is driven out with a club as soon as the harvest is in.

We can not meet the problem of unemployment with spasmodic relief or temporary public works, nor by relying upon the kindness of employers who, under competitive conditions, very often can not afford to be kind nor upon vagrancy or poor laws. Unemployment is an ever-present hazard of industry, and must be dealt with as such.

The Department of Commerce sends out daily consular reports, giving information as to trade, manufacturing, and finance all over the world. A system of unemployment exchanges covering in a complete network the entire country could be made to perform the same function for the laborer. In order that it should be successful it must be organized on a national scale and by the National Government. It must be made sufficiently elastic to enable the widest possible cooperation with the labor unions, and municipal and State labor exchanges. The employment exchanges established by employers' associations are for the most part ordinary strikebreaking agencies.

## NOT JOBS BUT INFORMATION.

A NATIONAL system of unemployment exchanges will not of itself furnish jobs. It will furnish information, it will centralize the labor market. The 80 public employment exchanges scattered in about 20 States offer but scant assistance.

A majority of the civilized countries of Europe have come to recognize unemployment as a characteristic feature of modern industrial life. Of the various methods dealing with unemployment on a permanent basis, I will just say one word about the Ghent system. The system which has its name from the city of Ghent, in Belgium, the first city to introduce a national system of unemployment labor unions which pay out-of-work benefits. It is a purely voluntary system.

The boldest step in the direction of introducing a national system of unemployment insurance was taken in England in 1911. It may be worse, while to give a brief outline as to how the English law works. The law was first made compulsory in reference to seven industries embracing about 2,400,000 workers. Each employer is required to pay into the insurance fund 10 cents as 2½ per cent a week for every worker, one-half of which he deducts from the wages of each employee. These payments are made by affixing stamps to an insurance card. The cards are obtained by the workers at the post offices or from any of the unemployment extension offices. The State treasury contributes 3½ cents, so that employer, employee and the Government each contribute to the insurance fund. At the end of the first year of the operation of the insurance law there was a surplus of \$8,000,000. Six hundred thousand workers in industries to which the law was not made compulsory, applicants came voluntarily within the provisions of the law. The most remarkable thing about it all is that 30 per cent of the unemployed workers are entitled to no more than 15 weeks' unemployment benefit during any one year, 7 shillings each week. Of course, the amount is very small as compared with the American standard of living, but, as was said at the hearing, it is just 7 shillings more than nothing.

To encourage trade unions to provide unemployment insurance the British act grants a subsidy to every union which pays a certain amount of out-of-work benefits. The entire act is based upon the fullest possible recognition of the trade union as the agency which is best adapted to carry into effect the provisions of the law. The unions practically act as agents for the fund. The individual member of the union makes his payments to and receives his benefits from the union, and the union is reimbursed from the national unemployment fund.

## COMPULSORY ON INDUSTRY.

It goes without saying that it would be extremely unwise to adopt in toto any European system of unemployment insurance. It must be made to conform to the higher standards of American life; it must not be permitted to destroy the individuality of the worker; it must be founded upon the broadest possible cooperation with the labor unions. Instead of being compulsory upon the individual it must be made compulsory upon industry and upon the unit of industry—the employer.

We are dealing with the effects of involuntary idleness, for which the individual worker is not and should not be held responsible.

Mr. Haugen, Mr. Chairman, I desire to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman. The gentleman from Iowa has five minutes remaining.

Mr. London. I thank the gentleman. We are dealing with the problem of unemployment on a national scale. Mr. Davis of Texas. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. London. Yes.

Mr. Davis of Texas. Does not the gentleman think that it would forbid monopoly of natural opportunities

that that would solve a great deal of the unemployment in the country?

Mr. London. Undoubtedly. I will come to that a little later. In the discussion yesterday the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Overmyer) said that we used one-fourth of the available land and that one-fourth of the land we used yielded only one-half of what could be produced by intensive farming. In the course of his remarks he also said, "We have the land and we have the brains." Yes the trouble is we have the land but utilize only one-eighth of it, and we have the brains and do not seem to use any part of them. To come back to the subject of compulsory unemployment insurance.

Upon examination, unemployment insurance will not appear as novel as it appears to be at first sight. Look at our workmen's accident compensation legislation. For years the people of the United States were indifferent to the problem of the worker injured in industrial accidents. It seemed to be such an elementary proposition that a worker injured in the course of his employment should be compensated when he was disabled. It took years of agitation, and only after almost every country of Europe had introduced a method of compensating employees disabled in industry 31 States became reconciled to the principle that industry owes an obligation to the worker in the event of an accident. The burden in these cases falls upon the industry itself, or upon the employer.

In less than 10 years, 31 States have adopted the principle of workmen's compensation. It was not when I received after the adoption of the workmen's compensation act in New York—the announcement of the publication of a textbook consisting of six or eight volumes and upon which the author had spent many years of his life—the book dealt with the fanciful theories of the corporation lawyers to defeat the claims of the workers for compensation. These volumes of the old-fashioned lawyer were so much waste paper now, because of the advance of social thought in America. He had been working out the problem of compensation while the minds of the men were working in the direction of a nobler method of dealing with the victims of industry.

## DEFECTIVE AND INADEQUATE.

MOST of these compensation laws are defective and inadequate. In many jurisdictions they still distinguish between disablement due to an industrial accident and disablement due to occupational disease. We now all understand that employers have been forced to insure themselves in a fund, out of which the injured workers shall be paid, has resulted in a reduction of the number of accidents and in better methods of safety. In the same way inclusion of occupational diseases will work in the direction of compelling employers to produce the most sanitary conditions in industry, that the health of the worker will become the concern of the employer.

It is not, then, a new theory that I am advancing when I seek to apply the principle which has been recognized in accident compensation to unemployment. Unemployment is a risk and incident of industry. While we provide for unemployment insurance we must not forget that the primary object is to minimize unemployment and to prevent it as much as possible. Let us make a start and we will find that some order may be introduced in industry.

## EXTEND PUBLIC WORKS.

WHY NOT begin with the extension of public works? Why not force the lands now held for speculative purposes out of the hands of the absentee landlords and out of the grip of land sharks? Why not get busy conserving the natural resources? Conservation occupies a prominent place in the platforms of all political parties.

It is a sad reflection on the statesmanship of America that we have been thus far unable to save millions of acres of land from inundation by floods; that we have permitted the forests to be destroyed; that the building of public roads in agriculturally and industrially backward sections of the country has not been organized on a systematic basis. Year in and year out river and harbor appropriations are made, all without plan, without order, without system. Work which is essential to the very life of the nation is conducted in a haphazard manner, to the great amusement of newspaper writers, who charge Congress with "pork-barrel" legislation.

I urge that simultaneously with insurance against unemployment there should be taken up the problem of organizing the public works of the country, such as the reclamation of arid lands, reforestation, the exploitation of our natural resources, work for the prevention of floods and inundations, for the reclamation of swamp lands, the building of public

roads, canals, and similar undertakings. The present free and easy method of spending millions of dollars without any plan, with only local and temporary conditions in view, should be replaced by a permanent and national development scheme.

It is a conservative estimate that the unappropriated natural resources of the United States exceed \$30,000,000,000 in value, an average of \$300 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. But this is a conservative way of valuing things. The worth of the natural resources still in the possession of the Government of the United States is incalculably more than thirty billions.

Who can estimate the worth of natural resources which, when utilized by the Nation and not thrown away in dribbles to private owners, will give the means of life to millions of men and for generations to come? It would be like attempting to figure out in dollars and cents the value of the sun.

## TWO KINDS OF VETERANS.

I HAVE given so much time to the subject of unemployment that I will have to be brief in dealing with the other branches of the subject of social insurance—old age and sickness. Old age and invalidity insurance, just like accident and disability insurance, do not involve the old principle. It is rather the application and extension of an old principle.

We have long ago become accustomed to treat with reverence the veterans of our wars who are in need. I ask you now to treat with the same reverence the veterans of industry who is in need. There is no substantial reason why a distinction should be drawn between the man enfeebled by old age who has been rendering useful service to the country in industry or in agriculture and the former soldier.

The morality of the Bible is supposed to lie at the basis of our moral system. Respect for the aged is a precept which is inculcated in every school child. Can we afford to repudiate one of the fundamental principles of our moral code by discarding the aged? And do not forget, please, that, so far as industry is concerned, men become superannuated before they become old.

It is not an unusual thing, but rather a frequent occurrence, to meet old professors, old teachers, and old statesmen and the older they are the higher are they regarded by the community.

It is not so in industry. The man becomes old for the purposes of industry when the ever-quickening processes of production make it impossible for him to do his work with the exertion with the younger man.

The very term "superannuated" shows a cynical contempt for the dignity of a human being. It conveys the notion that the superannuated has had too many years of life, more than the normal life span of the society, and that he is a burden upon the community. If industry were conducted with some regard for human life and not (Continued on Next Page)







## MAKE EVERY SOCIALIST VOTER AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST READER

**THE LAST TIME.**  
This week the order blank for the HENRY DUBB EDITION is being published for the last time. This edition is good for distribution as long as there is a Henry Dubb left in the land. A supply of this edition will be kept on hand to fill your order if it arrives soon. So get on the job! Send in your order!  
Here's an extract of a letter about the Henry Dubb edition from H. J. Stewart, of Nampa, Idaho:  
"This number is a hummer in all respects and I want to send some marked copies to friends."

### ROLL OF HONOR

Comrade William F. Greene, of Moline, Ill., subscribes for six months and gets that book by the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan, entitled, "Regulation—A Fraud and a Failure."  
Comrade G. C. Bushaw, of Detroit, Mich., comes in with a list of nine.  
One of Mayor Hoan's books also goes to Arthur Horn, Washington, D. C.  
Two doctors head the list of five sent in by Comrade William Dietz of Julesburg, Colo. All doctors ought to become Socialists after witnessing the results of disease under the capitalist system.  
The Ukrainian Socialist weekly sends in a list of 11 sub. secured among Ukrainians.  
Comrade R. Smith, of Santa Fe, N. M., sends in a club of three and asks us to send him a sub card to go out and round up another Henry Dubb.  
Comrade Max Crucius, of Milwaukee, sends in a club of four six month's sub., all of them to get Mayor Hoan's book.  
"Our paper is doing a great work everywhere, even in this town, with its reputation for the lack of ignorance," is the message that comes from a comrade at Rimmond, Kans.

### The Great Struggle

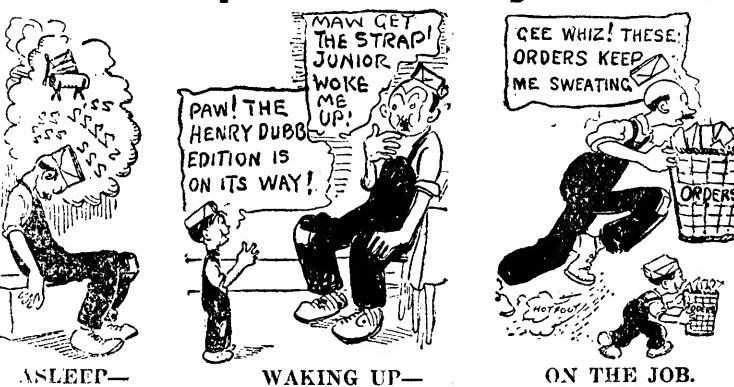
By EDMUND R. BRUMBAUGH.

The class struggle is the great struggle. None other can compare with it. Most other struggles are parts of it or are governed by it. Great issues are involved in it; great principles are at stake. Upon the outcome depends the further development or utter decay of civilization.  
The class struggle, beginning with civilization, has increased in intensity as civilization has grown and developed. As the years come and go class lines become more clearly marked, the issue more sharply defined. The conflict of Capital and Labor in industry and politics takes on new vigor as both sides realize its importance. More and more the prize for the victor becomes the entire ownership and control of industry.

IN STRUGGLE is the secret of racial advancement. Much of it in the past has been accompanied by trial and hardship and suffering untold, but such have not been essential to advancement; the principal work of the trial and hardship and suffering has been but to hinder. Starvation is never the secret of character and achievement. Poverty does not promote efficiency in the highest sense of that word. Contact with vice is not conducive to virtue nor need to proper appreciation of the good things of life. When men rise above the brute of the jungle, they will eliminate the cruelty and tragedy of the struggle will remain, struggle that will develop instead of degrade, struggle that will lift up instead of crush down. The human struggle should be on a high plane to be worthy of humanity. It is enough to engage every energy to struggle for more intelligence, more uprightness, more usefulness; in short, for the finer, more enduring attributes.

THE DOCTRINE of the class struggle has been much denounced. Theodore Roosevelt called "class consciousness" "a hateful thing." But out of this "hateful thing," notwithstanding, will blossom the loveliest flowers of heart and mind and soul. Out of the class struggle will come the end of classes, out of an imperfect industrial system a more perfect one, out of discord harmony, out of strife peace.

## Wake Up The Henry Dubbs!



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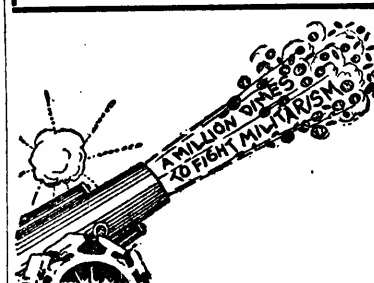
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### Henry Dubb And His Ballot



### The Million Dime Column



Conducted by  
**MAX SHEROVER.**  
Total number of dimes received up to and including Saturday, May 6:

## 20,001

This makes a gain of 1,119 dimes for the past week.  
**DIME BANK DIVISION ORGANIZED.**

Over 200 banks are already in the hands of gunners and new applications for membership in this division of the army come in with every mail. Within ten days all of the 1,000 banks will be out performing their function. There is room for just a small number of applicants and if you want to be among the first thousand workers then send in your name and address at once, and if there's a bank left it will be sent out to you with full instructions.

879,999 Dimes Needed.

We are that many dimes short of the million. And this shortage in munitions must be supplied between now and the start of the campaign. You can't fight without munitions. Don't expect the party to put up a rip roaring, sky-rocket and victorious campaign unless you are willing to do your full share in furnishing the munitions to do it with. If you are one of the 879,999 that did not send in his dime, then do it now. Also get that other fellow to do it. And remember you are not restricted to a dime. A quarter, half or dollar and more will be accepted, and will enhance our ammunition magazine. Don't be one of the "outs," be one of the "ins."

Additional Recruiting Officers of the 1,000,000 Dime Army:

G. Boling, St. Louis, Mo.  
F. Tait, Toledo, O.  
R. E. H. Darbour, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
M. L. Darbour, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Charles Cathcart, Santa Barbara, Cal.  
Sam Peterson, Lake, Cal.  
E. W. Bauer, Tulsa, Okla.  
Chas. Stringer, Dinuba, Cal.  
S. T. Rablen, Sonoma, Cal.  
Simon Enadahl, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Oscar Munson, Stillwater, Minn.  
R. T. Rablen, Detroit, Mich.  
H. S. H. Bryan, Ohio.  
Joseph H. Gerch, Bedford Hills, N. Y.  
Edwin Sisco, Buxton, N. D.  
Alex. Faderewski, Elkhart, Mich.  
W. J. Conarty, Huntington, Ind.  
W. J. Conarty, Huntington, Ind.  
James A. Mussetter, Los Angeles, Cal.  
C. Bonnickson, Briggsdale, Colo.  
Chas. V. Watson, St. Francis, Kan.  
R. Goodman, Rochester, N. Y.  
Geo. W. Hise, Calexico, Cal.  
John Gunka, Detroit, Mich.  
Edward Joossar, Fort Worth, Tex.  
E. M. Fairport, Ohio.  
Alameda, Cal.  
N. Sokol, Revere, Mass.  
W. S. Gale, Amsterdam, N. Y.  
R. F. V. Watson, St. Francis, Kan.  
W. C. Corbin, Troy, N. Y.  
M. L. Phillips, McDonald, Kan.

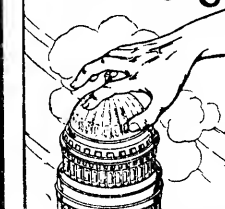
L. E. Katterfeld will be available for lectures in June, en route from Everett, Wash., to Omaha, Neb., and from Kansas City back to Portland, Ore. Locals should write to him at Box 491, Everett, Wash.

### The Carpenter And The Rich Man.

A FEW copies of this book left.

This was a regular dollar book, but we will send you one or more copies at the price of 50 cents postage paid.—Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

### The King of the Money Kings



"The Force That Controls The Money Of The Country, Controls The Nation."

### The Book of the Hour for Socialists.

THE MONEY QUESTION IN CONSTRUCTIVE ROMANCE.

The great mass of people, business men and farmers now, they are all in a financial conspiracy, yet are unable to trace its inner workings. This book makes it so clear, so thrillingly interesting, even the girls and the housewives see it.

Dr. Karl F. M. Sandberg, specially detailed by the N.E.C., Soc. party to recommend measures and literature on the money question for the party, says of the Money Kings, after reading it carefully: "I like the book. Courage and determination speak from its every page. Read it! It will make you feel better braver; will dispel the hopelessness of despair and inspire to action. Will give you a far better understanding of our social problems and how to solve them. They 'way out' IS SHOWN. \* \* \* Enough romance and jollification to make entertaining and fascinating reading. Pleasure and time well spent to read it."

"The fact that the people are so densely ignorant on the money question capped J. A. Watson's circulation thru the Appeal more than a million copies of the 'Seven Financial Conspiracies' pamphlet. The Money Kings is not a pamphlet but a book, a romance, dealing with the money question in a way to enlist the interest and finally the sympathy and understanding of the most casual reader. It is the only existing novel on this very important question."—Josephine Conger-Kaneke.

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### Taxes Trouble Donks

(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON.—Revenue for the federal government from taxing the ordinary products of industry will be the policy of Congress shortly to be announced in the form of a bill in the House. Coupled with this scheme will be a proposition to raise more money from the income tax law—not too much to scare the rich, and not enough to do much with.

Any way they turn the Democrats are up against it on the revenue proposition. On one side they run into the Republicans who tell them that if they hadn't fooled with the tariff, there would be plenty of money for the expenses of the Government. This is the fact, for imports are larger than ever before, but no revenue is derived from them. On the other side they run into the radicals who tell them that it spells economic disaster to tax things like beer, gasoline, telephone calls, checks, and so forth, merely adding burdens to the cost of living.

#### Dodge Inheritance Tax.

Between these two fires the Democrats are dodging a stiff inheritance tax, which would easily give plenty of money, a rigid enforcement of the income tax, which, experts reckon, would bring in hundreds of millions of hidden funds, and government ownership schemes, which would reduce the cost of living and bring in steady streams of supply money.

Even a moderate extension of the parcel post would not only boom farming and cut into the distress in the cities but it would produce some \$30,000,000 for Uncle Sam's depleted treasury. Instead of doing this, Congress is actually trying to prevent any extension at all.

A government-owned merchant marine would not only cut freight rates in two, but it would bring in millions of dollars of profits to the people of the country.

Government development of the water-power resources of the country would not only reduce the power of the Power Trust, but it would result in hundreds of thousands of dollars of revenue for Washington.

#### Government Development of the Oil and Gas Resources of the Country.

Government development of the oil and gas resources of the country would deal a staggering blow to Standard Oil, and would also bring in revenue.

#### Can Easily Get Revenue.

On every hand lie plenty of opportunities for revenue without cost to the people—except to the few exploiters—and yet Wilson is going ahead obstinately to conjure up funds for his salary and the operations of the government by means of stamps stuck onto common things of daily use. But this is Democratic policy from time immemorial—taxation and issuing bonds.

#### The Interests of the Working Class are Being Jeopardized by the Democrats in this Respect.

STALL ON SUFFRAGE QUESTION  
WASHINGTON.—In vain the women suffragists are working on Congress to secure action on the amendment to the constitution enfranchising women. Neither the Democrats nor the Republican parties, neither the House nor the Senate will consider suffrage seriously. Each and every politician, from the President down does nothing but stall, stall, stall.

Two active lobbies have been camped in Washington for more than three years. These lobbies are composed of women, are financed by women, and their object is to secure the vote for women thru the passage of a Joint Resolution enfranchising women in exactly the same way the negroes were enfranchised after the Civil War.

Southern sentiment and states rightism has been aroused against this amendment, for the reconstruction days and the menace of federal power are still fresh in the memories of many politicians. The women however, are declaring that if the negro should be given the vote, they should be given it, and this answer is unanswerable.

#### Senate More Progressive.

The amendment has been reported to the Senate, and every time it has come up under the regular rules for debate, some bright-eyed servant of reactionarism in the shape of a portly old solon always has been watching in the gallery, go back to their homes or offices and try it all over again.

As a matter of fact, the Senate is more progressive on woman suffrage than the House is, and there is more chance of passage by the Senate than by the House.

As a threat which they plan to

are Home Rulers. While among the masters the Edward Carson rebellion was nourished and supported by a combination of the old exploiters of Irish labor in Irish factories and on the Irish docks by both Catholics and Protestants alike neither seeking for the glory of religion, but all seeking for the power to exploit the workers, Catholics and Protestants alike.

The old flag of Ireland was a Green Flag; the flag of the rising Industrial Democracy, the flag just hoisted in Ireland over her public buildings, and defended not by her rabble but by her best and most devoted sons, bore the three stripes of the green, the orange and the white. The disinterested devotion of the white, the industrial independence and Irish solidarity, the yellow of the Orange men and the green of the ancient Ireland proclaim the nature of this contest in a banner never before equalled in its exact expression of the idea for the sake of which it gave itself to the free air above scenes of bloodshed.

#### DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHANT.

THAT FLAG has been torn down, trampled under the ruthless feet of power, and drenched in the blood of those who made it. That is the last word from Ireland, but it is not the last act in this long drama. A new ideal of Irish solidarity, the orange and the green have been enthroned together in the Irish heart in behalf of a rational national aspiration that can never be satisfied until Home Rule not only for Ireland but for the English-speaking world has been established.

Peace cannot come again with the Irish situation avoided and forgotten thru the disaster of Continental war. Whenever peace shall come on the Continent Home Rule with the distinct knowledge that that will mean Industrial Democracy will come to its own.

What will be born out of the measureless slaughter of the Continental armies is not clear. But the street fighting in Dublin will mark the beginning of a new era in the life of Ireland and in the Industrial and Political Institutions of the British world.

#### FIGHT FOR JIM CONNOLLY.

Hoping that James Connolly, one of the leaders in the recent rebellion in Ireland, may still be alive, the Chicago Federation of Labor, by unanimous vote decided to send a cablegram to Premier Asquith of Great Britain as follows:

"The Chicago Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, representing over 250,000 workers, by unanimous vote, asks that James Connolly and other leaders of Irish rebellion be given same humane consideration given by Abraham Lincoln to leaders in American civil war."

In commenting upon the career of James Connolly, Socialist and struggling in the cause of labor, The Milwaukee Leader says:

"A militant fighter to the last, and always best in a foreman's cause, James Connolly's stormy career is now reported to have reached an end in a British prison, where he is said to be mortally wounded. His thousands of American friends in Socialist and labor circles will remember him as a cheerful, fearless fighter, with little thought of consequences to himself."

"As a worker in the Socialist party he did much to break down the prejudice that had been created against Socialism thru clerical antagonism. While here he made several lecture trips across the country, wrote many pamphlets, edited successfully The Irish Worker, The Newcastle Free Press and The Harp, and organized many centers of Socialist activity."

Later he went into the Socialist Labor Party, had the inevitable disagreement with Daniel DeLeon and then gave his strength to the organization of the dock workers of New York. He was prominent in the biggest strike of these workers and did much to bring solidarity among them. "He then returned to Ireland where he edited a labor paper, and was a leader with James Larkin in the great Dublin transport workers' strike. When this collapsed he threw his energies in the Sinn Fein movement, and the rest of the story has been told by the cables of the last few days."

E. R. Meitzen, Socialist candidate for governor in Texas, and W. S. Noble, will make an automobile tour of central and western Texas during May and June.

### How To Become Naturalized.

THE National Office publishes the best booklet of information on Naturalization. You need it to instruct that friend or relation who is about to undergo the examination. Price only 10 cents.—Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

### Current Comment

By Walter Thomas Mills.  
AUTHOR OF "DEMOCRACY OR DESPOTISM"

#### THE IRISH REBELLION.

IN THE midst of the unutterable European darkness, there is seen but a single ray of light.  
The only war which is ever justifiable is a war for liberty. And, even then, it is justifiable only as a last resort. Slavery is worse than death. To die, even in a hopeless battle for freedom, is not so pitiful as to submit to slavery. Liberty is better than life, for without liberty life itself is a misfortune. Slavery is worse than death, for slavery means the loss of all the blessedness of life, while all its burdens and misfortunes still survive.

#### A WORLD-WIDE SURRENDER.

ALL OVER Europe Democracy has been surrendered at home in order that the oppressor might retain or extend his power to oppress, away from home.

Even the special provisions made for the housing and the feeding of the families of the absent soldiers have been made with the distinct understanding that they are temporary concessions, made by the masters, and to remain in force only so long as the soldier is needed away from home. They have been granted with a standing notice that they are to last only until the soldiers return, when they are to be made again the victim of industrial exploitation, to suffer again in the future from industrial disaster and social neglect as they have suffered in all the past.

The patriotic fervor which has led many millions of European workers to walk without faltering into the open grave, has been on the part of the workers a blind devotion to a great ideal; but on the part of the masters of men it has been the deliberate slaughter of the many to promote or to defend the private interests of the few.

#### NOT SO IN IRELAND.

THE REBELLION in Ireland is not an incident of the war, originated in Germany to embarrass an enemy by fostering rebellion in an enemy's country.

The struggle for liberty in Ireland has been an age-long struggle. The constructive Home Rulers on the one hand, and the exploiting reactionaries on the other were organized, equipped and ready to fly at each others' throats. Then it was thought that the war in Europe had diverted attention from the situation in Ireland and by uniting the British people in a war away from home had averted civil war at home.

The street fighting in Dublin is not part of the infamous butchery on the Continent. It is another chapter in the long struggle for the deliverance

of Ireland from oppressive conditions maintained under the authority of the British flag.

SINCE the old time struggle for Irish deliverance from the consequences of British conquest the whole world has learned the better way of promoting the extension of social solidarity by federation rather than by conquest.

In keeping with this general worldwide movement the growing demands for Irish independence naturally shifted to the more moderate and more rational demand for Irish Home Government. It had been discovered that Scotland, Wales and the larger Territorial Divisions within England itself were quite as much in need of Home Rule as was Ireland. During the last few years the movement had taken root by which all of the great ancient subdivisions of the British Isles were to be restored the rights of local self-government.

The historic special powers inherent in the special privileges of British landlords had been overthrown in a series of British elections and the House of Lords had just been denied its power any longer to delay the advances of British Democracy.

#### THE RISE OF LABOR.

IN ALL of the British Municipalities, in Scotland and Wales, as well as in Ireland, the chief instrument in the delay of progress is the lack of power in any of these municipalities to build a sewer, to improve the schools, to enlarge the parks, or to provide for rational housing conditions without in every instance waiting for an Act of Parliament.

Home Rule for Ireland came to mean Home Rule for all the rest of the British Empire. And Home Rule meant the final and absolute loss of the power to defeat Democratic proposals thru the dilatory tactics of pretending to do nothing for lack of time and in that way continuing to do the wrong thing.

Home Rule had been finally achieved by Parliamentary action. The power of the House of Lords by legal authority to veto the National Will had been abolished. But in Ireland the Labor Party had arisen and in Ireland to a more marked degree than almost anywhere else in the English speaking world the Labor Movement was too serious, too determined and too intelligent to be trifled with.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.  
THE LABOR movement in Ireland was becoming at one and the same time both Industrial and Political. The same organization which spoke for Labor at the ballot box, spoke also for Labor in every industrial controversy. Over and over again, having no other means of defending their interests, the labor organizations had fought out their battles in great Industrial Uprisings and had achieved great victories.

Immediately following the final adoption of the Home Rule legislation, the Irish Labor Party started a campaign of organization which in the number of added memberships was never before equalled anywhere. It was the organization which was the first time the power of Labor was able absolutely to eliminate in an industrial dispute sectarian controversies. In its ranks the Irish Methodist, the Irish Presbyterian, the Irish Catholic and the Irish agnostic were all of them Irish workers, united in the defense of their political and industrial rights, known at last to be of equally vital importance to them all.

#### INSURRECTION ORGANIZED.

IT WAS at this time that Edward Carson started his famous military organization to defy the power of the British armies to establish in Ireland an effort to defy the British Government, but to offer Irish assistance by force of arms if necessary, in enforcing in Ireland the laws already enacted by the British Parliament but indirectly in behalf of Irish Industrial Democracy.

It is only by a misunderstanding of the facts, a misunderstanding which has been deliberately promoted by a reactionary British propaganda, that this dispute has been misunderstood to involve a warfare between the Catholics and the Protestants. The overwhelming majority of the Protestants even in the Belfast District